The Rothbard-Rockwell Report
TRIPLE R

SMARTS MATTER

Michael Levin

The brash nephew successful in trade can be an embarrassment to a hidebound aristocratic family. He challenges their ideas of propriety and they prefer not to talk about him, but he is too prominent to ignore and he won't go away. Intelligence is like that for liberals. They don't like it and are trying very badly to make it vanish, or at least pretend it is not there, and in their inevitable failure are growing increasingly desperate.

Much of this desperation expresses itself in verbal bobbing and weaving. Truth, Thomas Hobbes tells us, consists in the right ordering of names, and warns against men who "deceive themselves by the inconstancy of the signification of their words." The reason for abuse of language is obvious: when the facts plus logic undermine a cherished slogan, it is tempting to save the slogan by making it mean something else.

A liberal article of faith for almost a century has been that individuals and groups do not differ in mental ability, but advances in mental testing, neuroscience, and behavior genetics have left this belief untenable. That is why liberal psychologists and educators have suddenly discovered different kinds of intelligence, or that intelligence means different things to different people. Maybe, if you're smarter than me in one way, I'm smarter than you in another, so in the end we're all one big equally smart family after all.

You'd think from the heavy weather made over it that defining "intelligent" is an Olympian challenge. It isn't; according to the dictionary, "intelligent" means able to learn. Learn what? Anything. Intelligence is the general capacity to acquire new knowledge of any sort, so, by definition, person A is more intelligent than person B when, no matter what the topic, A tends to catch on more rapidly and thoroughly than B. That's it; that is what "intelligent" means. Like one of the magic words on Groucho Marx's old TV show, it is a familiar concept we use every day, and should be no more controversial than "tall" or "talkative."

At the level of ordinary experience the existence of a general learning ability is obvious. Do you know anyone with an advanced degree in science who can't follow a newspaper article, or knows absolutely nothing about literature? If a magna cum laude and a drop-out with alleged "street smarts" found themselves in a strange city with no money, who would you bet is more likely to figure out a way to get a meal?

But what has really put paid to skepticism about general ability are intelligence, or "IQ," tests. We've all taken them. Once again, still at the level of common sense, their various questions clearly probe some abstract ability to "figure things out" rather than (as liberals allege) exposure to white, middle-class society.

More significantly, the questions on typical IQ tests are of various sorts: reading comprehension, word analogies, complete-a-pattern, numerical reasoning, vocabulary, and so on. And a major if unsurprising finding is that people who do well on one type of question tend to do well on all the others. Those with large vocabularies are good at reasoning mathematically, those adept at completing patterns are adept at arranging sentences to reconstitute a logical paragraph. Your impression that your physicist friend is also pretty articulate is borne out.

It is as if all of these special tasks call upon one underlying capacity, and a mathematical technique known as factor analysis allows statisticians

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INTELLIGENCE BRIEFING

• **Were pieces of a Navy missile drone found at the site of the TWA 800 downing?** Yes, reports TWA crash expert Ian Williams Goddard (http://www.erols.com/igoddard). According to the *Southampton Press* of May 13, 1997, a Long Island woman, Dede Muma, mistakenly received a fax from Teledyne Ryan Aeronautical meant for the FBI's office in Calverton, Long Island. (Muma's fax number is one digit different from the FBI's.)

The fax describes debris found at the site of the TWA crash, and "shows a diagram of what appears to be a missile, along with a breakdown of its tail section and a parts list," says the newspaper. "The object shown in the fax was identified this week by Jane's Information Services in Alexandria, VA, as a Teledyne Ryan BQM-34 Firebee I, an air or surface-launched recoverable aerial target." The Navy practices shooting down such drones.

Ms. Muma called the FBI and was told to fax the document to them, and destroy the original. She asked what would happen if she didn't, and was told "we'll have to investigate you." So she sent it to her local newspaper.

On the night of the TWA downing, the skies off Long Island were filled with military aircraft, points out Goddard. And "the Long Island newspaper *The Independent* reported that witnesses saw a 'smaller plane' flying near TWA 800 at crash time. Indeed, a Firebee drone looks like a 'smaller plane.'" On the night of the crash, CNN interviewed a pilot who said he saw what looked like a 'stunt plane' crash into TWA 800. A Firebee looks like a "stunt plane."

Why was there such heavy military air-traffic that night? There was a massive military war-game in progress called "Global Yankee '96." TWA 800 was on the "Betty track" (a supposedly safe route around active naval exercise zones), reports Mr. Goddard, "but more than 150 witnesses saw TWA 800 being hit by a missile-like projectile."

• **"George of the Jungle," a Disney film for little children, is filled with raw sex.** (It's also stupid, but that's another matter.) There is a constant emphasis on George and others being hit below the waist, and such scenes as George stepping out of the shower as a girl ogles his netherparts and has to be restrained from jumping him. She leers, "No wonder they call him the King of the Jungle."

• **The photos from Mars were supposed to be Nasa's fiscal salvation.** But what did they show? Rocks. Dull, hard, dry, red-tinted rocks–like you see in the backyard. As for the landscapes, it could have been a Las Vegas suburb. (Some say it was.) So the scientists-on-the-take gave the rocks cute names, to humanize them. It didn't work. Forty-eight hours after the pictures appeared, the world's gasps turned to yawns, and the much-vaunted mission to Mars had lost its cache. Rocks, shmocks, Mars, schmars, the key point to remember is that American tax dollars are being shot into space. There were no little green men there. Nasa ought to be defunded for this appalling waste of our time and money.

• **Jim Grant, profit in the making:** "The trouble with prosperity," he writes in *Grant's Interest Rate Observer*, "is that it can't stand up to speculation. The infectious idea of a New Era makes lenders and borrowers (and investors, too) forget themselves. In their zeal, they compress credit spreads and bid up stock prices to such an extreme degree that the return of the unhappy Old Era is virtually guaranteed. The mispricing of credit–in the direction of liberality, of course–is rampant in the present boom because there are so many banks and finance companies and so many investors willing to overpay for the privilege of owning them." (August 1, 1997)

• **The mass media is suppressing Fob James's heroic fight** against the federal judiciary, for fear it might catch on. First, he stood up to a federal judge with a brilliant essay in defense of states rights (in this case, the right to determine policies over prayer in local schools). When judicial tyrant Ira DeMent ruled against James's position, the governor of

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Alabama sent out a fiery missive announcing that he would appeal it.

Not that courts are the final authority. James quotes Jefferson in his letter to the judge: "You seem...to consider the judges as the ultimate arbiters of all constitutional questions–a very dangerous doctrine indeed, and one which would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy. Our judges are honest as other men, and not more so. They have, with others, the same passions for party, for power, and the privilege of their corps.... The Constitution has created no such tribunal, knowing that, to whatever hands confided, with the corruptions of time and party, its members would become despots."

Jefferson, like Fob James, was not arguing against a particular way of interpreting the Constitution. He was in a war with the very idea of central power itself. Even if judges make the right decisions, it is contrary to the idea of a free society they should be deciding constitutional issues–the constitutional structure itself was supposed to forbid it. When has another governor in our time proposed such a sweeping challenge to our D.C. masters? The media suppress this because they know which way public opinion would run.

• **Joe Sobran has a knack for picking books**. "War usually isn't worth the price, even when you win," Sobran writes in his syndicated column (July 31, 1997). "A new collection of essays, *The Costs of War: America's Pyrrhic Victories* edited by John V. Denson (published by Transaction), takes a new look at our wars without the mythology that portrays them as not only worthwhile but glorious. The contributors to this stimulating collection agree that most of our wars have had the ultimate effect of strengthening government at the expense of liberty and the rule of law." *The Costs of War* is available at a $3 discount from the *Triple R* ($45 postpaid). Phone 1-800-325-7257.

• **The Oklahoma Bombing saga is far from over**. The heroic state senator Charles Key brought a grand jury together to hear evidence, suppressed in the federal government's trial, that there's much fishy about the conventional rendering of events. Most interesting is the story of the young Carol Howe. A beauty queen, she was raped by three blacks and then joined the white supremacist movement centered in Elohim City, OK. There she hooked up with a guy named Denis Mahon, a leader of the group who was planning to blow up a federal building in Oklahoma.

Mahon sexually assaulted Howe. Bitter and disillusioned with the group, she became an ATF informant, giving regular evidence to the government on Mahon's activities. That includes Mahon's trip to stake out an Oklahoma City building–accompanied by Andreas Strassmeir, who was, unbeknownst to Howe, an ATF informant too. Strassmeir was the "head of security" who was shuffled out of the U.S. to his native Germany soon after the bombing. Most experts not in the pay of the U.S. think the bombing was a result of a sting operation–possibly plotted and planned by ATF informants–that ran afoul of jurisdictional disputes between the FBI and the ATF.

• **Those who doubt the official story of the Oklahoma City bombing hoped that Tim McVeigh would tell all in his pre-sentencing statement.** But that's just not his style. Instead, he said: "I wish to use the words of Justice Brandeis dissenting in Olmstead to speak for me. He wrote: 'Our government is the potent, the omnipresent teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example.' That's all I have."

Brandeis's dissent was written for a 1928 wire-tap case. It was prohibition, and the government had claimed the right to spy on all suspected whiskey distributors, dealers, and customers. In the full passage from his dissent, Brandeis wrote, "Decency, security, and liberty alike demand that government officials shall be subjected to the same rules of conduct that are commands to the citizen. In a government of laws, existence of the government will be imperiled if it fails to observe the law scrupulously. Our government is the potent, the omnipresent teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy. To declare that, in the administration of the criminal law, the end justifies the means–to declare that the government may commit crimes in order to secure the conviction of a private criminal–would bring terrible retribution. Against that pernicious doctrine this Court should resolutely set its face."

• **Suppressed Waco fact**: after the feds burned down the building where the Branch Davidians lived and worshipped, the Texas Rangers found a fireproof safe containing $50,000 in cash plus gold and platinum. Columnist David Kopel reports that the Rangers gave the money and metals to FBI agents, who apparently stole them. The official story is that the contents were "lost."

• **Jack Kemp, long off his rocker, has flipped his lid to boot.** His newest campaign is for a West-coast version of the Statue of Liberty. This massive public works would result in the "Statue of Responsibility." Lee Iacocca has signed on to the harebrained idea. (*Washington Times*, July 24, 1997)

• **Repealing Nixon's 55-miles-per-hour speed limit** was one of Clinton's

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few good decisions. It was criticized by "safety advocates" on grounds that it would increase highway deaths. The data are in, and it just ain't so. Despite increases in limits to as high as 75–and Montana repealed them completely–there were 1.7 deaths per billion miles driven nationwide both before and after the change. In 36 states that set high limits, safety has improved. California and Mississippi, respectively, saw a 4 percent and 21 percent drop in fatalities. In Montana, deaths fell after repealing speed limits.

Gary Galles of Pepperdine University argues (*Journal of Commerce*, July 31, 1997) that "the faster you go, the less time you spend on the road to cover a given distance," so we'd expect a fall in fatalities. Moreover, it is not the speed itself which is dangerous; it is the difference between fast and slow drivers. Raising the limit has paradoxically narrowed the gap between law-abiding drivers and freeway flyers.

• **Tax cuts in a nutshell**: the compromise budget plan, with its teeny-tiny tax cuts, is expected to cause a revenue loss of 1 percent. But tax collections have been running 8.5 percent higher this year, so it wasn't much of a sacrifice for the political class, argues Erich Heinemann (*Journal of Commerce*, July 31, 1997).

• **Enthusiasm over the present economic boom should be kept in proportion**. As Heinemann also points out, inflation-adjusted GDP has risen only 17.3 percent in the last six years, compared to 28.9 percent for a comparable period in the 1980s, and 38.9 percent in the 1960s.

• **Nation of Rebels rejects conventional wisdom**. A Scripps Howard News Service/Ohio University poll revealed yielded some surprising results. Asked if it is "very likely" or "somewhat likely" that federal officials were "directly responsible" for the JFK assassination, 51 percent said yes. More than a third suspect that the Navy shot down TWA flight 800. (Phyllis Schlafly writing in the *Washington Times*, July 26, 1997.)

• **More on the Kennedy assassination:** Even aside from those who think the feds killed Kennedy (probably the CIA, which he had vowed to destroy), virtually no American accepts the report of the Warren Commission, a farrago of lies and distortions concocted with the crucial help of Arlen Specter, now a left-Republican senator from Pennsylvania. All the Warren lackies seem to have done well, including Gerald Ford. And now it turns out that one of his services was "correcting" the Warren Commission's report to bolster Specter's famous "magic-bullet theory."

If the same bullet had struck Kennedy and then Texas Governor John Connally, the Oswald myth could be sustained. If not, then Oswald was a patsy. The Specter theory depended on the first bullet entering Kennedy's neck. Hurrah to CNN (July 2, 1997) for reporting that Ford, in his own handwriting, changed the final draft of the Warren Commission's report on the location of the first bullet wound, from Kennedy's back to his neck. "My changes had nothing to do with a conspiracy theory," says Ford today. "My changes were only an attempt to be more precise."

• **Why is Dwayne Andreas hated?** Sure, the famous head of Archer Daniels Midland has bought politicians to get and keep tax breaks for the ethanol industry, but so what? All tax breaks serve the commonweal, as well as the individual beneficiaries. Every dime kept out of the government's hands is a public service. Yet D.C.'s Cato Institute denounced Andreas for supporting tax breaks for his company, which it called "corporate welfare."

"Cato is a whore," replied Andreas. "What's wrong with that?" asked Ed Crane, head of Cato. Only kidding. Crane actually told the *Washington Post* (July 28, 1997), in response to Andreas's charge that Cato is in the pay of big oil, that "less than 1.5% of our budget comes from the oil industry." Andreas, added Crane, "represents the worst of American business in terms of trying to use Congress to protect his company and screw the American taxpayer."

We see. Keeping your own money is "screwing the American taxpayer." But supporting $3 billion for Nafta and Gatt, $30 billion in school-voucher welfare, and $1.5 trillion in higher payroll taxes to "privatize" Social Security–among other Cato causes–is helping the taxpayer. On the 1.5% question, Cato was founded by the Koch Oil brothers, who remain its largest funders.

• **Was the Versace murder the only one ever committed?** You might think so from the media. When three elderly Southern white women are calmly murdered by a 14-year-old black boy during a robbery, hey, these things happen. But when a rich man can't enjoy his gay prostitute without being killed, *that's* a crime, and reason enough to put 400 FBI agents on the case.

• **"In Africa, fear of foreigners with the alleged power to shrink penises has spread to Senegal,** with seven people in Dakar lynched by mobs on Thursday alone," says the *Drudge Report* (August 1, 1997), relaying a French Press Agency story. "Someone who makes brief physical contact with a stranger on the street claims to get a chill, then declares that his penis is shrinking. One of those killed was burned alive, a police official in Africa said." RRR

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to extract and calibrate it. This general factor is dubbed "g," and IQ is a measure of its presence. The basic idea is simple: if scotch gets people very drunk, an equal volume of wine gets them slightly drunk, and an equal volume of beer makes them tipsy, it stands to reason that all three fluids contain the same active ingredient–alcohol–and by carefully measuring the degree of inebriation each one causes we can estimate just how much alcohol each contains. We can even give a number to the proportion of alcohol in a beverage–its "proof."

A fashionable objection to g is that, just as (for all we can tell from their observable effects) scotch, beer, and wine may each contain different inebriating ingredients, there may be a variety of mental abilities, each tested by the different types of IQ question. Maybe verbal questions measure verbal ability, mathematical questions measure mathematical ability, vocabulary questions measure vocabulary ability, and so on, and for some reason all these abilities are found together.

There is a germ of truth here: all the number crunching in the world cannot demonstrate that there is such a quantity as g, any more than observing a battalion of drunks can demonstrate that there is such a chemical as alcohol.

That is not the end of the matter, though. In the first place, while critics of IQ tests seem to think that individual and group differences would disappear if there were no such thing as g, the existence of many specific mental abilities rather than one general one would make little moral or practical difference. Suppose Johnny always gets higher grades than Jimmy in math, science, English, history, and language. What does it matter to them, their teachers, or society whether Johnny always outperforms Jimmy because he is smarter–has more g–or has more mathematical ability and more verbal ability? Would it mollify Jimmy to tell him that Johnny is no smarter than he is because there is no such thing as being smart, just that Johnny is better at math, English, science, languages, history,...? However finely you slice it, there is a real difference between Johnny and Jimmy.

In the second place the existence of g can be established, indirectly. Were IQ a myth, an artifact, a phony number that conveys nothing real, then the last thing you'd expect is any sort of connection between IQ and anything else. But such connections not only exist, they abound. And it is not simply that IQ predicts success in such socially important matters as grades at all levels of schooling, job performance, on-the-job trainability, income, status, and law-abidingness, although this striking fact deserves dwelling on.

Nothing else is nearly as good at predicting how someone will fare in life as his IQ at age 8.

No other variable in the social sciences is nearly as good at predicting how someone will fare in life as his IQ at age 8. IQ is more important than status: a smart child from a lower-class family is likely to go farther than a dull child from an upper-class one. High achievers in walks of life that on the surface are unrelated to intellect are usually smarter than the competition. Surprising as it may sound, Arnold Schwartzenegger, Michael Jordan, and Paul McCartney almost certainly have above-average IQs.

This is why intelligence testing is so useful and important.

Employers who wish to find the most productive job applicants can do so quite reliably by giving them IQ tests. IQ tests can pick out smart kids for classes for the gifted (as well as slow learners). College admissions offices can identify the brightest high school seniors by their performance on the SAT, which is, despite its designers' disclaimers, a surrogate for IQ.

Critics reply, implausibly but consistently, that IQ tests are good predictors of success because they measure the familiarity with the mores of white bourgeois society that are the ticket to success. White middle-class children learn how to take IQ tests, and then white middle-class society rewards the little conformists with grades, jobs, money, and status. This is why egalitarians are so hostile to testing, particularly of children: the game, they say, is rigged.

The ghetto, we are told, teems with "bright" kids who don't "test well" and are maybe a little disruptive, but deserve to be in classes for the gifted anyway. Better to use teacher ratings of "liveliness" than IQ.

These egalitarian demands are usually made hypocritically. Just ask an egalitarian whether he would want his own kids in a class for the allegedly gifted all of whose members were of average IQ but had been certified as bright by teachers' subjective assessments. You may be sure he would realize such a class is "special" in name only, and put his own children elsewhere. Everyone wants into elite institutions like Bronx High School of Science precisely because admission is controlled by an objective test. Eliminate the test and you destroy the school.

In any event, newer research techniques like Magnetic Resonance Imaging and Positron Emission Tomography, which allow study of living, functioning brains, have put paid to the cultural-construct complaint. What has emerged are close relationships between IQ and entirely

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non-social matters. For instance, it has now been shown beyond doubt that IQ is related to brain size. (Brocca, Morton, and other 19th-century Neanderthals and racists were right on this point.) IQ is also linked to the cerebral metabolic rate: the cerebrums of individuals with higher IQs tend to burn glucose more slowly. These same slow-burners are better at learning the computer game Tetris. In other words, smart people have more efficient brains. It is hard to argue that "society" teaches some children but not others to retard the metabolization of sugar.

A somewhat older series of studies has found a definite relation between IQ and simple reactions. For instance, when you ask a test subject to press a button as soon as a light flashes on a screen, his speed of response will vary with his IQ. Intriguingly, the consistency of response is even more closely associated with IQ than sheer quickness; people who always press the button about the same time after the flash have higher IQs than people whose reactions vary wildly. And again it must be asked: when was the last time your middle-class neighbors beamed a flashlight at their kids and told them to start pressing buttons?

Finally, in recent years, scientists have discovered that infants who attend to novel stimuli like unfamiliar pictures tend to develop into higher-IQ children. A child's future IQ is foreshadowed at six months, long before social values can be learned. These sorts of findings remove any serious doubts about g.

It is at this point, when the reality of general intelligence has been established beyond cavil, that many of the most deceptive verbal tricks are deployed. Howard Gardner, a Harvard eminence, has gotten a great deal of press for his theory of "multiple intelligences"—that general intellectual ability may exist, but is just one of many quite different types of intelligence, the others including (I kid you not) musical, leadership, and bodily intelligence. Is a gymnast failing all her courses? Never fear; while she may be deficient in "logical" intelligence, she is abundantly blessed with the bodily sort.

Here is a gorgeous example of inconstant signification. Gardner has simply expanded the word "intelligence" to cover various knacks and talents it did not cover previously. He has not discovered any new link between learning and doing somersaults; he has decided to call both of them by the same name. This explains the curiously insubstantial quality of the debate about kinds of intelligence. When someone switches definitions in this way, arguing is a mug's game that leads nowhere.

You keep denying that ballet dancing is a matter of intelligence and he keeps insisting it is, but in a different sense, until the cows come home. The only way to break the logjam is by surrendering the word "intelligence." "Fine," you can say; "dancing and doing handstands and leading a gang are all forms of intelligence. Feel free to call sneezing a form of intelligence. But none of them predicts income, education, status, law-abidingness, brain size, brain function, or the capacity for scientific genius as well as does what you call logical intelligence. Once you admit these facts, how you formulate them doesn't matter."

Devotees of multiple intelligence accuse anyone caught using a standard IQ test like the Wechsler or Stanford-Binet of being a fuddy-duddy dogmatist. This attitude rests on a misunderstanding about measurement. Obviously intelligence tests can be improved, and the studies of brain function I've described point the way. Unless taboos about the subject and the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department prevail, it should be possible in fifty years to gauge the intelligence of an adult or a child by brain scans of some sort. But these new tests will simply refine the results of the old ones and in no way contradict them.

What galls egalitarians even more than individual and group differences in intelligence is the idea that these differences are mostly hereditary.

Consider time-keeping. A thousand years ago people kept time by the position of the sun. One hundred years ago a runner's speed was measured by stopwatches accurate to about half a second. Nowadays, with laser beams, atomic clocks, and what-all, a runner's time can be measured out to four decimal places. But it isn't as if speedsters once thought to run the 100-yard dash in 10 seconds have turned out to be slowpokes who take five minutes. If we got those kinds of results, we'd chuck the lasers and go back to sundials. Updated measurements refine old ones; jazzy new IQ tests had better agree with the old ones about who is gifted, normal and retarded, or they should also be thrown out.

What galls egalitarians even more than individual and group differences in intelligence is the idea that these differences are mostly hereditary in origin. But an impressive body of experimental work supports this conclusion.

The basic way to check the "heritability" of intelligence or any other trait is by observing identical twins, twins with the same genes, when they have been reared apart since birth. If environment alone determines IQ and genes don't matter, identical twins raised in different environments should differ in IQ as much as any two unrelated individuals. If genes do count, identical twins raised apart,

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even in very diverse family surroundings, should still end up quite close in intelligence.

Over the years a number of twin studies have been done, and the results are in. On average, two individuals chosen at random from the population differ in IQ by about 17 points; identical twins raised apart differ from each other, on average, by about 6 points. In statistical jargon, genes explain most of the variance in IQ. While you might think that 6 points is still considerable, consider that the scores of a single individual tested several times would vary by almost as much. Identical twins for this purpose are in effect the same person.

Other studies comparing fraternal twins (who have only half their genes in common), siblings, parents, and their biological children, parents and their adopted children, and adopted children and their biological parents all point in the same direction: individual differences in intelligence are due mostly to differences in their genes, not their environments. Had Einstein been raised in the worst slum, he still would have ended up pretty smart; were the average retardate raised in the richest, most stimulating environment that psychologists can devise, he would still end up a retardate. Environmentalism has been cut off at the knees.

A particularly striking finding that further amputates environmentalism up to the thighs is that the heritability of IQ increases with age. Twins separated at birth who are tested at 10 years of age may differ somewhat in IQ, indicating that their rearing environments have had some impact. But when they are tested at 25, 50, and 75, their IQs become increasingly similar. Not only does the rearing environment make relatively little difference, it makes less difference as life experiences accumulate.

This same finding held between races in the famous Minnesota Transracial Adoption Study. Sandra Scarr and her colleagues followed about 120 black and mixed-raced children from their adoption as infants by upper-middle-class white families to their late adolescence. At age 7 the average IQ of the black children was over 98–close to the national white average, although still about 15 points below that of the natural children of the adoptive parents, the usual black/white gap in the US.

However, by the time the black adoptees had reached 17, their average IQ had fallen to 89, only a bit higher than the national black average (and no higher than the black average in Minnesota). The handwriting on the wall says that no matter what sort of elaborate early intervention is arranged for black children, what super-Head Start programs are instituted (even assuming whites have some obligation to assume the enormous costs), blacks will be as far behind whites as ever when the smoke clears.

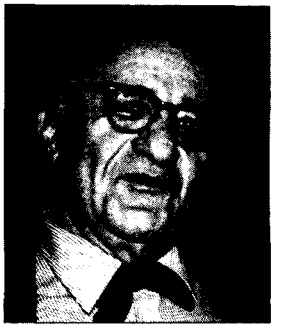
In a debate, my opponent replied that white racism causes black brains to shrink.

We have reached the most volatile aspect of contemporary research, and the main reason such research is, to say the least, politically incorrect: race differences in IQ also seem due primarily to genes. Raise black children as you do white, and they still come out different–and not just in IQ, but in levels of socially deviant behavior. This finding is confirmed by other genetic data connecting IQ test scores to inbreeding, and by craniometric and wet-brain studies.

A survey of head- and brain-size measurements undertaken by Philippe Rushton leaves little doubt that whites have somewhat larger brains than blacks when body weight is held constant. Not that these facts necessarily quiet liberals; once when I pointed them out in a debate, my opponent replied that white racism causes black brains to shrink. (For the record, eventual adult brain size is fixed in early childhood.) Others suggest that perhaps intelligence has been "decoupled" from the brain. Unless one is willing to engage in such desperation moves, he must accept a role for biology in the racial gap in IQ.

This is the basic reason why liberals who do not attempt to suppress the truth about intelligence outright are so keen to camouflage it with verbal trickery. Despite all the noise they make, though, just what bothers them is not clear. Part of it, I suppose, is that liberals have invested a great deal in outmoded explanations of why things go wrong–poverty, oppression, capitalism–and resent being told that their favorite theories are delusional. Blacks themselves resist the message because intelligence is

Dean of the Austrian School of economics, American historian, founder of modern libertarianism, and restorer of the Old Right, Murray N. Rothbard (1926–1995) was a one-man army of liberty. The *Triple R* is inspired by his spirit, and dedicated to his vision.



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highly valued, and the idea that the black intelligence deficit is genetic suggests that it is somehow intrinsic or essential.

While I personally have nothing but contempt for liberal pigheadedness, I do think the reaction of many blacks is understandable. Nobody likes to hear that the group he most strongly identifies with is deficient. But the facts are what they are, and the sooner everybody accepts them the better we will all undoubtedly be. RRR

"TROPHY KIDS"

JEFFREY TUCKER

For generations now, high social status has been equated with small families, and low status with large families. This perverse view is both a consequence and indicator of economic and cultural decline, and should trouble anyone concerned about the future of the country.

But new evidence collected by the private sector suggests this assumption may no longer be as valid as it once was. Upper-income groups are now having as many children as the lowest income groups who enjoy government subsidies for doing so. The increase in family size among the wealthy has alarmed the left (a very good sign) and given rise to a spate of denunciations of the rich and their "trophy kids."

Since the height of the baby boom in the 1950s, birth rates dropped from 3.76 children per woman to 1.98 last year. Many factors encouraged the disastrous trend. Inflation and declining living standards have driven young married women into the workforce and out of the home. Pursuit of career and fear of divorce led women to get married later in life, leaving less time for bearing children. The cost of education has soared, making kids less affordable.

These forces conspired with New Deal legislation like Social Security, which suggested that children need not be a valued asset in parents' older years, and Progressive Era legislation against child labor, which said they can't contribute to family income. As a result, children became all cost with little or no economic benefit.

This accords with socialist designs. As Ludwig von Mises said, "without coercive regulation of the growth of population, a socialist community is inconceivable." Even "if a socialist community may bring 'free love,' it can in no way bring free birth." The socialist state treats children as a means of production to be regulated and controlled.

The increase in family size among the wealthy has alarmed the left (a very good sign).

Along with this change came the cultural trend–again, subsidized by government programs–away from kids and family life generally. Two generations were told that it is evil to have more than two children. It wastes social resources and robs children of parents' attention and affections. Americans should choose quality over quality, making sure that each child gets the best possible education instead of spreading the educational benefits around 3, 4, 5, or more kids. Birth control pills and abortion meant that sex could be enjoyed nonetheless.

Middle-class Americans, especially those who had the misfortune of being subjected to a sociology class in college, came to believe every word of it. They did their patriotic duty and curbed their child bearing habits. Meanwhile, the lower classes did not attend such classes, read trendy weeklies, and cared little for the interests of society, went right on having kids as before. In America people with the lowest incomes have 2.3 kids, while those in the upper-middle class have only 1.8.

These trends have given rise to a despairing attitude among those who see the political implications of demographic trends. The best and brightest families–those who will never be on welfare, who are owners and bequestors of capital, who have the willingness to be risk takers and entrepreneurs, and who serve as the political backbone of the free society–have been outbred by people who exhibit fewer of these traits. Making matters worse, immigration law has been biased in favor of the latter, not the former, group.

Those who project demographic trends of the last three decades forward into time may indeed have reason for long faces. What they haven't accounted for is the possibility that trends can change dramatically in one generation. Anecdotal evidence suggests it is indeed changing. When newly married couples talk about having children today, they throw around numbers like 3, 4, and 5 kids.

Part of the reason: most of these young people only have one sibling and now wish they had more. They know that their grandparents and great-grandparents had five and as many as ten kids, so their own parents look like the historical aberrations they are in fact. As the Squirrel Nut Zippers sing, "if it's good enough for granddad, it's good enough for me."

More importantly, having heard from their parents how expensive kids are, by swearing to have four or more children today's young couples are saying: we are going to be more

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successful, financially and otherwise, than our parents.

It's tacky to brag about the size of your bank account, but it's considered charming to call and send emails about your growing family. It gives people a way of saying, "I'm successful" in a way that does not sound ostentatious. As a corollary, many young married people are inclined to think older people with smaller families or no children have been the victims of unfortunate luck, anti-kid delusions, or just lacked the material wherewithal to make it possible.

But notice the subtle but profoundly important shift in thinking. Rich is increasingly associated with big, not small, families. This is precisely the opposite view of the generation of people now in their 50s and early 60s, who made childbearing decisions at the height of the leftist anti-kid hysteria. These people still wince at the thought of more than two children, viewing it as socially irresponsible or just generally low class and icky.

Not so with young people. I've noticed among friends and acquaintances–religious and secular, liberal and conservative, in different regions of the country–many have developed a competitive attitude with my family and those around them. They are racing to have children just as they once competed to complete their degrees, buy houses, and accumulate assets.

A banker in Washington, an architect in Atlanta, an economist in LA, a title company manager in Dallas–all are shooting for five and six kids. In some cases, these people were saying and doing the opposite of what they said they believed in college. And these are people heavily influenced by the growing pro-kid mentality among co-workers.

Even advertising reflects the new reality. Notice the extensive use of kids in catalogs advertising clothing for young urban professionals. And women's magazines–those paragons for celebrating the promiscuous single life–have recently featured covers with titles like "Sexy Moms."

This trend is backed by private surveys. Writing in *Slate*, Ronald Bailey points to the results of a report by Mendelsson Research. It shows that in households with children where family income is higher than $250,000, birth rates are 0.5 percent higher than with the middle class. And once we move into seriously rich–the Forbes 400 richest Americans–birth rates explode by demographic standards. They are now averaging 2.88 children, which is 1.08 kids more than the middle class is having.

So what: a handful of rich people having children. What does it matter? The implications of this trend go way beyond economics. T.S. Elliot, in his *Notes Towards A Definition of Culture*, explains how in a society structured according to class distinctions–and every civilized society exhibits class distinctions–manners and morals are passed from the top, through the middle, and finally to the low in a much dumbed-down form.

Today, large families are a luxury good. But luxury goods serve a social function.

At each stage, the quality of behavior and values gets thinner but its origins are recognizable. This is true for fashion, architecture, values, religion, language, and most everything else we include in the category of culture. That's not to say the lower classes never exhibit more virtue, manners, or morals than the highest classes. Because they are relatively more impervious to change, the lower classes can hold onto attenuated virtues that have long since disappeared among the uppercrust.

Elliot's point is that when the natural elite is corrupt, the whole society will eventually reflect that corruption; similarly, virtue pursued at the highest ranks can have a potent social impact, displacing the social effects and even the reality of vast cultural weakness at the bottom of society.

The richest Americans have long exercised a profound cultural influence on the middle class, simply because most people in the middle class would like to be rich. Biographies of successful businessmen sell better here than anywhere in the world.

The small family movement began among the elite, and it eventually caught on among the middle class. So too as Americans watch the richest men in America having larger and larger families–and what *Triple R* subscriber didn't thrill to the size of Steve Forbes's beautiful family?–that sends a potent message that eventually trickles down to everyone else.

Today, large families are a luxury good. But luxury goods serve a social function. As Mises explains, "the rich adopt novelties and become accustomed to their use. This sets a fashion which others imitates." Thus luxury "is the roadmaker of progress: it develops latent needs and makes people discontented." Mises cites Gabriel Tarde's *Social Laws* (1899): Innovation "is the whim of an elite before it becomes a need of the public. The luxury of today is the necessity of tomorrow."

Moreover, a trend toward large families has more staying power than a mere change in fashion. Unlike other tangible symbols of economic success, children bring unimagined joy to life. It only takes one child to make you realize that the anti-children and anti-family propaganda of the last thirty years is sheer nonsense. And with each additional child, the joy grows exponentially. They are so obviously worth every conceivable sacrifice, it's a wonder that the anti-child

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attitudes of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s ever took hold to begin with; indeed it needed government to give it a push.

The old rationales for limiting family size have been shot down. Far from being a drain on social resources, children raised with the right values are a productive asset to society. A growing economy can accommodate, and indeed depends upon, high birth rates among the productive classes. They are most likely to pass on to their children the values needed to save, create new technologies, continue religious traditions, and contribute to the world of ideas.

Neither should time constraints necessarily prevent anyone of any means from having many children. It was once thought that a child's intelligence was entirely a function of the degree of attention the parents gave the children, or at least the amount of money parents spent on others to give them attention. In that case, it might make sense to limit the number of children a family has. You can have one or two smart kids or four or five dumber kids or a rat pack of imbeciles.

But modern research into the genetic intractability of intelligence has shown that there is little parents can do to alter a child's intelligence on either the up or the downside. Even major aspects of what we call personality and temperament are built in, as it were, and not fundamentally alterable by parental influence.

Every child is a unique creation and there is no sense in a parent attempting to recreate what God has already made. They are born with their own talents and weaknesses. There are bad eggs, good eggs, and everything in between, and we love them all. Parents major impact on their children's lives involves shaping matters around the edges by imparting the right values and morals.

Realizing that Locke and Skinner were 180 degrees wrong provides a great deal of comfort for parents who hope for large families. Parents don't have the awesome responsibility of creating kids the way a Rodan made sculptures. That's already been done by the One who created us all. Our responsibility is to bring them into the world, provide guidance, pray with them and for them, marvel at the joy they bring into our lives, and eventually let them go their own way, helping and prodding any time circumstances allow.

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Knowing this, the excuse that large families don't allow for "quality time" melts away. Large families allow for the main responsibility of parenting—imparting morals and values—to take place even more efficiently, as older siblings serve as role models for younger ones. There are other returns to scale as well, in clothing, toys, books, and babysitter help. With home schooling, these returns spill over to education itself, so the older children help in the instruction of the younger ones.

But what about education, that great financial concern that has artificially kept down family size for decades? With the price of good schools rising ever higher, how can anyone living on moderate means hope to pay for four or five children going through college? There's an additional concern that comes with degree inflation: a BA or BS degree has the economic worth that a high school degree did only a couple of decades ago. Even the PhD has been devalued by the democratization of the academy and the rise of affirmative action.

This trend not only makes degrees seem less valuable; it makes them less valuable in fact. As the supply of workers with degrees increases, the price employers are willing to pay for the degree alone falls in proportion. Employers are less impressed than ever with a degree, and, increasingly, they look for more tangible evidence of worth: literacy, willingness to work, experience, attitude, persistence.

There is only one aspect of the college and graduate degree that survives as a mark of individual worth: it can be a proxy for the more tangible qualities employers are actually looking for. But in the future, it may not be the best proxy available. When today's newborns enter the workforce, a college degree will not necessarily be among the top considerations that determine job opportunities. Even today, among the fastest growing sectors of our economy—high-tech industries especially—it is ranked way down the list compared with sheer know-how.

Top education or no education, there has never been a substitute for the combination of proper values and the determination to succeed. No educational spending is going to impart those better than parents can without spending a dime on private school, much less throwing money down the drain to "educate" a son who has better things to do with the years between 18 and 25.

A far better gift to children than a degree is an additional sibling, a family member who loves him and will be a lifetime friend long after the parents have passed on. It's true that not all siblings find joy in each other's company. The answer, then, is to maximize the chances that each child will find a sibling to his liking by having four or five.

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There's a final motive for having a huge family: revenge. Revenge against the family haters, against the environmentalists, against the abortion lobby, against modernity's corruption. You'll be doing the thing that the left fears the most: helping to repopulate the world with the kind of people they've struggled for a century to eliminate from the face of the earth. RRR

PRIVATE EDUCATION, PUBLIC CONTROL

Paul Gottfried

The respectable American right seeks to expand public administration in the name of creating private "choice." This dangerous idea is particularly evident in "conservative" alternatives to public school control of public funding.

In California, Wisconsin, Michigan, and other states, school voucher advocates seek to give public subsidies to those attending private schools. In the confrontation teacher unions, public employees, and left liberals stand on one side, while putative libertarians, neoconservatives, and the Christian Right stand on the other. Last year the advocates of what Milton Friedman calls "educational choice" inserted their plan into the Republican Party platform.

This same idea is getting favorable comment abroad. In particular, the Italian magazine, *Ideazione*, funded by Silvio Berlusconi, has presented American ideas on school choice. *Ideazione* said that with 93% of its school-age children in public institutions, Italians would do well to consider U.S. voucher plans.

But can private schools receiving public money remain private? In Sweden, it was the socialist government which resuscitated private schools in 1992 by authorizing and funding them. The Swedish task was to create a competitive alternative to public education in the face of state-dominated social services. The Swedes set out to do this by allocating funds and buildings to designated private schools, which have limited control over staff, curricula, and admissions. In four years' time the percentage of such institutions among accredited Swedish schools has risen from 1 to 5 percent.

The hitch here should be obvious. The state can easily take away what it gives, and always controls what it subsidizes. Though this chilling reality should be apparent to advocates of vouchers, it continues to elude them. Thus the largest European organization promoting private alternatives, OIDEL, published a comprehensive report on liberty of instruction throughout the world. In ascertaining the degree of instructional freedom in the schools of each country, OIDEL applied four criteria, the legal possibility of creating private schools, the permissibility of religious instruction or of expressing "moral and religious views in public schools," the availability of funds for non-state schools, and the relative percentage of private as opposed to public schooling.

According to OIDEL's report, Holland stands out among other Western countries for properly privatized education; France, with its predominantly Catholic parochial schools, is somewhere in the middle, and Italy near the bottom being barely above Greece and Portugal.

But this analysis is misleading. Though Holland has a majority of its students in technically private schools, the institutions they attend are state-controlled. Between 80 and 90 percent of school expenditures are for salaries, and these are paid out of taxes raised by the state, which imposes on private schools instructional and other guidelines. In an assessment of Dutch education, Denis P. Doyle, a policy analyst with AEI, refers to the Dutch private system as "parallel public schools." A similar observation would apply to the French situation. There the state pays partly for salaries and for other costs attached to parochial education, and has sought to denature this parallel educational system.

In the U.S., not one of the school choice plans for tax relief or vouchers to be paid to the school of one's choice (or one's parents' choice) has been able to guard against state infringement, as a byproduct of taking state-allocated money. Detailed studies of this sequence have been produced by libertarian authors Dwight Lee, Murray Rothbard, Llewellyn Rockwell, and Jeffrey Tucker, all of whom criticized California's Proposition 174 and subsequent proposals.

Since families were already paying for public education and since private schools are absorbing the likely added costs for public instruction that would occur if all students left the private system, it only seems fair, or so the voucher advocates argue, to give back money to families who patronize private schools.

The point made by libertarian critics of this reasoning is that the state does not do favors for nothing. As in Milwaukee and now in all of Wisconsin, where vouchers have been introduced, participating private schools have made themselves subject to state and federal controls. Parochial schools must either lie or reconstruct themselves to prove that they practice religious diversity and do not put forward one set of religious truths at the expense of other beliefs. They must also furnish proof of racial and gender inclusiveness, under both federal and state laws.

In Milwaukee, where civil rights activist Polly Williams helped establish

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the local voucher plan, almost half of the recipients are on welfare. This has given rise to a curious consequence: vouchers have become another set of transfer payments from the middle and working classes to the inner city. There they function as a new Head Start, a job-creating operation at public expense which has not yielded educational dividends–or benefitted those already strapped with the costs of credible private education.

In the U.S. and Europe, the administrative state's entanglement with society is widespread and taken for granted, and today state provisions for private instruction are more welcomed than feared. Through most of this century the state has used education to socialize citizens and there is little reason to believe that this process will stop.

Most important, the government, the media, and the educating class have been ardently engaged for decades in a crusade against prejudice and discrimination. This crusade, which is the moral equivalent of war, has come to require the teaching of sensitivity in the classroom, as explained in the text of the NEA's recent resolution B-7, "regarding racism, sexism, and sexual orientation discrimination."

Local schools must have organized plans "to identify and eliminate discrimination and stereotyping in all educational settings." In the U.S., England, France, Holland, and other Western countries, government education departments and national teachers unions insist on the compulsory indoctrination of students in approved social attitudes. Above all, they warn against "subtle practices" expressing insensitive feelings, and make it incumbent upon schools to cleanse student behavior of "stereotyping and casting."

The problem facing the advocates of truly private education is their hope for the kind of social space that is no longer politically tolerated. Inasmuch as the state, media, and other verbal industries in the U.S. seek to eradicate unfashionable opinions with only scattered resistance, for the most part from the religious right, the momentum toward a uniformly politicized society continues. Resistance to this force is possible, but has only come historically from highly cohesive centers of opposition: i.e., regions, tightly organized hierarchical structures like the Catholic Church during the *Kulturkampf* in nineteenth-century Germany, and finally, social classes.

Individuals who have found Christ and watch Pat Robertson's Christian broadcasting channel may feel or express the same concerns and even vote the same way. But they do not have the discipline or community to be more than a pressure group, trying to influence the Republican Party or demonstrating and lobbying against abortion. They are also living in a society in which the central government, large corporations, entertainment, and the media are creating more and more cultural homogeneity, while weakening all sources of authority, save for public administration and its ideological defenders. Given all this, truly private education may only be possible through home schooling. RRR

BUST THE UNIONS

Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

The true face of unionism–handmaiden of the global social democratic empire–has been revealed again. In the biggest labor strike of the 1990s, the Teamsters set out to destroy UPS, one of America's great companies, while using its membership to cover up financial corruption among union bosses.

The union doesn't put it that way,

The real conflict is between a thuggish and indeed murderous union and the health of the company, which both workers and management have a stake in protecting.

but that's the upshot of the evil anti-UPS strike. It's not about oppressed workers demanding their rights (it never is). The real conflict is between a thuggish and indeed murderous union and the health of the company, which both workers and management have a stake in protecting.

If Teamsters demands are met, UPS will be financially crippled. It will be unable to compete with new carriers that have already gained a foothold. Even now, there will be layoffs. There will be cutbacks. Good managers will be recruited by nonunion companies, where the pay is higher and headaches are fewer.

Despite the claims of tv pundits, there has been virtually no public support for this strike, anymore than there was for the baseball strike last year. The primary victims haven't been corporate kingpins, but middle Americans and small business (large business could better arrange alternative delivery systems). It was left to the ridiculous Bob Herbert of the *New York Times* to defend this strike, in a typically stupid and cliche-ridden way.

But the strike is different from those of days gone by. At the outset there was only thin support among the workers, most of whom are happy with their generous wages and benefits, and own substantial amounts of UPS stock. What support there was plummeted within 48 hours. The giant company is run by humble, articulate managers who fly coach and who

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were often union members themselves, including the CEO. What's more, the company is correctly perceived as offering an even better deal to employees than the union.

Embraced by Left and Right

The big question is: how will the political establishment respond? Unions are beloved by the left because they are reliable political agitators for piecemeal socialism. They are beloved by neoconservatives too: Ben Wattenberg, Jack Kemp, and the entire editorial board of *Commentary* have consistently championed the union cause (teachers unions, criticized for opposing vouchers, excepted).

Indeed, love of unions has been a central doctrine in the post-war political mainstream. Even though union ideology is Marxian at its base, the big unions enlisted in the Cold War, indeed, they became adjuncts of the CIA, thereby buying off traditional conservative opposition. It was a staple of anti-communist rhetoric that communism was evil for not allowing union organizing.

In fact, unions themselves operate like mini-communist states. They claim to represent the workers when in fact they merely loot their members and stiff-arm other workers. Their power comes not through trade and contract, but through force and the threat of force. They are collectivist to the hilt, pretending as if "workers" constitute a homogeneous class.

But the conservative leadership bought the Menshevik line, and linked arms with Lane Kirkland and the International Labor Organization. Today, long after the Cold War, this pro-union sentiment still lingers. Few question their power much less their New Deal privileges in federal law. Groups like the anti-union National Right To Work Foundation are still considered extremist outsiders by the beltway conservative crowd.

In the last presidential election, someone told Pat Buchanan that he could gain advantage in Republican politics by being pro-union. Incredibly, he believed it. He held this insight close to his vest, as if it were secret knowledge, to prevent other candidates from stealing his sure-fire strategic plan to make it to the White House.

Pat then reshaped his entire platform around the pro-union plot, and thereby endorsed middle-class welfare, protectionism, and much of the rest of the union agenda. He ended up alienating his own pro-free enterprise supporters while not picking up any union support (big surprise). The *New York Times* applauded, but the number of AFL-CIO members voting in Republican primaries for some reason stayed small.

Union power comes not through trade and contract, but through force and the threat of force. It is collectivist to the hilt.

End Times

Despite the left-right support for unions, the UPS strike may be the last hurrah of American unions. For starters, it has been a public relations disaster. This has surprised the Teamsters and big unions around the country, who were hoping that the UPS strike would reinvigorate their dying movement.

From the outset, they should have known that strikes can only succeed if two conditions are met: 1) workers have sufficient training to make them difficult to replace, and 2) the business or industry is nearly the sole supplier in a market with high barriers to entry.

As to UPS workers, they are an inspiring sight. Thanks to management, and the incentives and corporate culture it has erected, UPS men are polite and well-dressed. They carry huge loads, don't ask for assistance, and do their jobs with vigor and enthusiasm. They smile. They never complain. Unlike post office clerks, they never scold the customer when the form isn't filled out properly. Instead, they help and explain.

But the fact remains that their job requires no specialized knowledge or skills. Practically any strong and energetic young man can become a UPS worker with a day or so of training. For every striker there are a thousand anxious to replace him. This is why strikes by so-called unskilled laborers rarely succeed.

Before the federal government began propping unions up with a variety of legal privileges, successful strikes could take place only among highly skilled artisans and craftsmen—people with specialized knowledge. And only then with the violence and threat of violence that unions typically array against recalcitrant members and the dreaded "scabs," men anxious to work for a market wage.

UPS workers were tricked into joining the union on the promise that it would provide job security and high wages. In fact, the Teamsters have meant nothing but trouble for UPS workers. The union steals their money in the form of inflated dues so the bosses can live high off the hog in a D.C. marble palace and pay off the politicians. Then the union tells workers to hate and boycott their true benefactors, the consumer and the management.

As for the second condition of successful strikes—near monopoly with high barriers to entry—the Teamsters noted with glee that UPS delivers 80 percent of packages in this country. They thought they had that market sewn up. But they were working from a static view of the economy, similar to the ones used by government bureaucrats. Beginning next quarter, we'll see where that 80 percent market share stands. 70 percent?

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50 percent? It's got nowhere to go but down.

There are dozens of companies clamoring for the chance to break up UPS's customer base. The Teamsters figured they could get what they wanted through their usual tactics and methods, including the threat of violence used against anyone who walks the picket line (one "scab" was stabbed six times in Houston by union goons, while a management driver was murdered in Tennessee when his truck was sabotaged). But the package delivery business is highly competitive. Given the opportunity, dozens of companies are prepared to pick up the slack.

Already, UPS has lost business that will never be regained. The strike is infuriating consumers and small businesses, and smashing commercial loyalties built up over the course of decades. Large shipping companies are publicly swearing they will never use unionized delivery again. The risk is too great.

Corrupt to the Core

One motive force behind this destructionism is the ego and personal power of one man, Teamsters president Ron Carey. He is embroiled in a financial scandal. Carey stands accused of diverting union dues to his campaign to beat out another crook, Jimmy Hoffa, Jr.

This strike is therefore a magician's trick, the same one used by politicians who drag us into war: create an outside diversion to distract from deception. Carey is drowning a great company, and inconveniencing the whole country in a plot to save his own skin. It's detestable, but sadly typical of the union racket.

The corruption is evident in the pension fund dispute. The union wants to keeping taxing workers to funnel money into an unviable and famously corrupt multi-state Teamsters pension plan. That way union bosses can subsidize their far-flung evil empire. But it's bad for UPS employees. Management wants to allow workers to vote on a much higher-paying UPS pension plan, to stop the redistribution from UPS to failed firms.

And despite the prattle by part timers, UPS actual pays them very well. Many are college students who earn an average of $11 an hour and get generous health benefits. That's why students are clamoring for these jobs. By employing so many part timers, UPS is able to pay high union wages for full timers.

Carey and his union are being swept into the dustbin of history. What a tragedy if he ends up taking a great company with him.

This is not a credit to the Teamster's, but to UPS's exceptional management. First, they overcame barriers imposed by government mail "service" to offer real service to the country. Long before FedEx came along, UPS proved it doesn't take a government monopoly to deliver a package. Then, after UPS went union, management staved off the strike threat with generous benefits and wages, while actually adding to its full-time employment rolls.

It was a wonderful feat. Like any company succeeding in a market economy, UPS deserved its dominant market position. What's more, with facts about Carey's double-dealings available for everyone to see, his position is weakening within the union itself. He hasn't diverted attention from his financial shenanigans. He hasn't helped workers, many of whom assumed the strike would last a day or two at most.

This strike, despite its short-term destructive effects, will have one long benefit. It will assure that the big unions will continue to decline in national importance. Carey and his union are being swept into the dustbin of history. What a tragedy if he ends up taking a great company with him. RRR

THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIVAL

L. H. R., Jr.

How could a Republican Congress, elected to curb the growth of government, approve a $8.7 billion disaster bill? It's the most pork-packed legislation of our time, much of it Pentagon pork. That's why dozens of young House members told Newt Gingrich to shape up or ship out.

But another faction of the right disagrees. It equates such spending, especially military spending, with national greatness. It says the chief executive should have more power, not less. It denounces tax cuts and decentralization. It embraces public works and foreign belligerence.

This faction is led by the neoconservative *Weekly Standard*, edited by William Kristol, and its senior editor David Brooks. Brooks argues that criticizing government is a bad idea, especially these days. As for free enterprise: markets, schmarkets. It's irresponsible to cater to "the desire for freedom"; the country is in danger because the "GOP no longer speaks persuasively about a national destiny."

When you hear the phrase "national destiny," hold on to your wallet...and your draft-age kids. This stuff is straight out of the 1930s, when government claimed it alone could save

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The COSTS of War

The Most Important Revisionist Work Ever Published?

We think so. After all, statism thrives on welfare and warfare. Yet while the welfare state has been under attack for decades, the warfare state has escaped serious criticism. Until now.

In *The Costs of War*, edited by Mises Institute vice chairman John V. Denson, leading economists, historians, and cultural critics openly confront what has been a taboo subject in American politics, the U.S. military as an instrument of domestic and international socialism.

For generations, we've heard about the splendor of U.S. wars, but hardly anything about their costs. Yet the wars of the central government from 1861 to the present have been deeply costly to millions of bereaved families, personal liberty, economic prosperity, sound money, states rights, and limited government.

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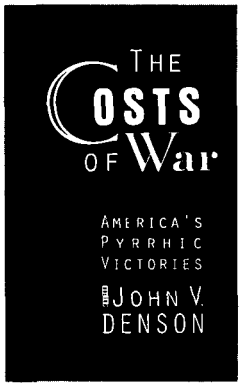

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the national soul. Individual rights and local liberties were for sissies. Only the activist, militarized, centralized state could give meaning to life.

The disaster bill is only a sample of what the new collectivists have in mind. They also want a trade war with China—in cahoots with Pat Buchanan, Gary Bauer, and much of the religious right—to bolster U.S. government prestige, and to punish international capitalists. Anyone who disagrees is an apostle of "appeasement."

What accounts for this madness? It's the repackaging of national socialist ideology. The power elite and its apologists are flirting with this old doctrine to counter the persistent public indifference to Washington. They'd better act, they figure, before the regime loses what's left of its legitimacy.

The national socialism of the *Weekly Standard* comes down to this: society cannot accomplish worthwhile tasks apart from government, which is why it ought to be revered and given more power. What should government do? Promote the civil religion any way it sees fit, here and abroad.

Thus American history is not the story of how bourgeois living standards were made available to all through enterprise. Instead, it's a chronicle of socialist boondoggles like the Panama Canal, the Hoover Dam, Mount Rushmore, the space program, and the military-industrial complex.

The most recent paean is to Teddy Roosevelt. As a "nationalist," says Brooks, "he argued that America should play global policeman." Only Teddy-style foreign meddling "demonstrates America's distinct national character and reminds diverse Americans of their common role in the world."

Benito Mussolini made the same argument more eloquently. "War alone," he wrote, explaining the central principle of national socialism, "brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it."

Like Mussolini's military buildup, Teddy Roosevelt's foray into bigstickism lifted our spirits, writes Brooks, "when Americans were bored by foreign affairs and suspicious of foreign entanglements." Hmmm. A time pretty much like our own, eh Mr. Brooks? The answer, he says, is an appeal to patriotism in the service of right-wing collectivism.

The domestic mission of national socialism is to supplant individual interest with social interest, and the appeal is to nation worship. As Mussolini said, life must be lived "above all for others," which is possible only through the state, "the immanent spirit of the nation."

Or in Brooks' plonkier prose, "energetic government is good for its own sake. It raises the sights of the individual. It strengthens common bonds. It boosts national pride. It continues the great national project. It allows each generation to join the work of their parents...and makes it new for every generation."

Might as well sum it up in the 1930s German slogan, *"Gemeinnutz Geht vor Eigennutz"*: communal welfare—as defined by the government—must come before individual welfare. Or as Brooks now puts it, "American purpose can find its voice only in Washington."

Another bane of national socialism is the leadership cult, which condenses the Rousseauian "will of the masses" into a single person. May that person never arrive. We need "national destiny" like we needed the disaster bill, which is to say, not at all. RRR

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